

## Session 11

Central problems in internation al relations



# War

# **Peace**

# The state

## **Power**

# New Patterns of War and Peace: Changes in Statehood

Armed conflict today increasingly takes place within states that are weak in the sense that they are unable or unwilling to provide security and order, not to mention freedom, justice, and welfare for the population. At the same time, among advanced states, especially among the liberal democracies, there is peace, cooperation, and no risk of interstate war.

# The Modern state

Government	A centralized system of democratic rule, based on administrative,
	policing and military organizations, sanctioned by a legal order,
	claiming a monopoly of the legitimate use of force, within a
	defined territory.
Nationhood	A people within a territory making up a community of citizens
	(with political, social, and economic rights) and a community of
	sentiment (based on linguistic, cultural, and historical bonds).
	Nationhood involves a high level of cohesion that binds nation
	and state together.
Economy	A segregated and self-sustained national economy that comprises
	the necessary sectors for its reproduction and growth. The major
	part of economic activity takes place within independent
	countries.

# The Postmodern state

Government	Multilevel governance in several interlocked arenas overlapping each other. Governance in context of supranational, international, transgovernmental, and transnational relations.
Nationhood	Supranational elements in nationhood, both with respect to the 'community of citizens' (rights and obligations between citizens and the state) and the 'community of sentiment' (cultural-historical relations between citizens as a group).  Collective loyalties increasingly projected away from the state.
Economy	'Deep integration': major part of economic activity is embedded in cross-border networks. The 'national' economy is much less self-sustained than it used to be.

# THE REALIST VIEW OF THE STATE

- an autonomous actor.
- constrained only by the anarchy of the international system.
- sovereign.
- guided by a national interest that is defined in terms of power.

#### THE LIBERAL VIEW OF THE STATE

- a process, involving contending interests.
- a reflection of both governmental and societal interests.
- the repository of multiple and changing national interests.
- the possessor of fungible sources of power.

# THE RADICAL VIEW OF THE STATE

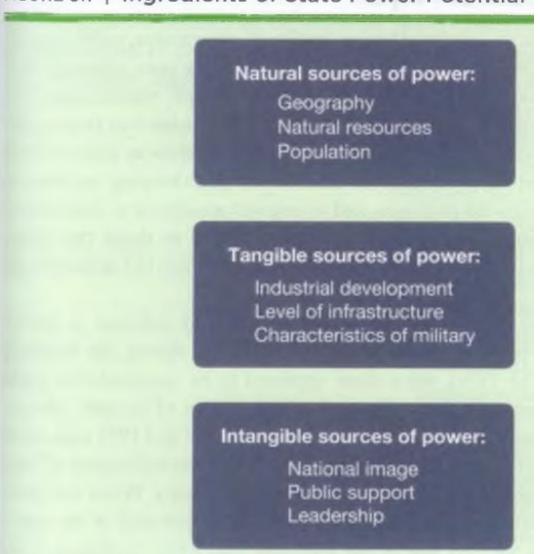
- the executing agent of the bourgeoisie.
- influenced by pressures from the capitalist class.
- constrained by the structure of the international capitalist system.

# THE CONSTRUCTIVIST VIEW OF THE STATE

- a socially constructed entity.
- the repository of national interests that change over time.
- shaped by international norms that change preferences.
- influenced by changing national interests that shape and reshape identities.
- socialized by IGOs and NGOs.

## The Nature of State Power

FIGURE 5.1 | Ingredients of State Power Potential



# **Tangible Sources of Power**

Among the tangible sources of power:

- industrial development
- economic diversification
- level of infrastructure,
- and characteristics of the military are among the most critical.

# **Intangible Sources of Power**

Intangible power sources:

- national image
- quality of government
- public support
- leadership,
- and morale

 may be as important as the tangible ones, although not to radicals, who emphasize material sources of power.

# The International System: Realist and Radical Interpretations

Causes of War by Level of Analysis

LEVEL	CAUSE
INDIVIDUAL	Aggressive characteristics of leaders Misperceptions by leaders Attributes of masses (innate behavior or flawed character Communications failure
STATE / SOCIETY	Liberal capitalist states, according to radicals Nonliberal / nondemocratic states, according to liberals Domestic politics, scapegoating Struggle between groups for economic resources Ethnonational challengers
INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM	Anarchy Lack of an arbiter Prominence of long cycles of war and peace Power transitions Aggressiveness of the international capitalist class

# Interstate and Intrastate War

- Since the advent of the state system in the years following the conclusion of the Thirty Years War (1618-48), the state, as a form of political association, has proven ideal at organizing and directing the resources necessary for waging war. As one famous social scientist put it, "War made the state and the state made war."
- Intrastate wars—civil wars—have decreased over time as well, but not nearly so precipitously as interstate wars.

# **Total and Limited War**

**Total wars** tend to be armed conflicts involving massive loss of life and widespread destruction, usually with many participants, including multiple major powers. These wars are fought for many reasons: to conquer and occupy enemy territory or to take over the government and/or to control the economic resources of an opponent. Wars may also be fought over conflicts of ideas (communism versus capitalism; democracy versus authoritarianism) or religion (Catholic versus Protestant; Shiite versus Sunni Muslim; Hinduism versus Islam).

## **Total and Limited War**

In *limited wars*, not all available armaments are unleashed. In these two cases, conventional weapons of warfare were used—tanks, foot soldiers, aircraft, and missiles. But despite their availability, nuclear weapons were not deployed. There is no better illustration of limited war than the long-standing Arab-Israeli disputes from 1973 onward.

## **Total and Limited War**

<u>The African continent</u> provides examples of these <u>total civil wars</u> - most such conflicts are now concentrated there.

- Ethiopia's war with two of its regions (Ogaden and Eritrea) lasted decades
- The civil war between the north and south in both Sudan and Chad.
- Liberia and Sierra Leone,
- The Democratic Republic of Congo a civil war -one that has become internationalized.

### **Recommended Literature**

- <u>Karen A. Mingst</u>, <u>Ivan M. Arreguin-Toft</u>. *Essentials of International Relations*. 5th Ed. 2010: New York: W.W. Norton & Co. ISBN 978-0393935295
- Robert Jackson, Georg Sorensen. Introduction to International Relations: Theories and Approaches. 4th edition, 2010: Oxford University Press. ISBN 978-0199548842

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